



**USAID**  
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

# USAID'S MEDIA ASSISTANCE STRENGTHENING INDEPENDENT RADIO IN INDONESIA



Papers on USAID's media assistance include

USAID's Media Assistance: Strengthening Independent Radio in Indonesia (PN-ADC-459)

USAID's Assistance to the Media Sector in Afghanistan (PN-ADC-219)

Media Assistance: Best Practices and Priorities (PN-ACR-754)

Journalism Training and Institution Building in Central American Countries (PN-ACR-755)

Assessment of USAID Media Assistance in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1996–2002 (PN-ACR-756)

Promoting Independent Media in Russia: An Assessment of USAID's Media Assistance (PN-ACR-757)

U.S. Media Assistance Programs in Serbia, July 1997–June 2002 (PN-ACT-553)

USAID's Media Assistance: Policy and Programmatic Lessons (PN-ACU-777)

This *Evaluation Paper*, and other papers in the series on assessment of USAID's media assistance programs, can be ordered from USAID's Development Experience Clearinghouse (DEC). To order or download, go to [www.dec.org](http://www.dec.org) and enter the document identification number (in the lower right corner of the cover) in the search box. The DEC may also be contacted at 8403 Colesville Road, Ste 210, Silver Spring, MD 20910; tel 301-562-0641; fax 301-588-7787; e-mail [docorder@dec.cdie.org](mailto:docorder@dec.cdie.org).

Editorial, design, and production assistance was provided by IBI-International Business Initiatives, Arlington, Va., under contract no. HFM-C-00-01-00143-00. For more information, contact IBI's Publications and Graphics Support Project staff at 703-525-2277 or [pgsp@ibi-usa.com](mailto:pgsp@ibi-usa.com).

# USAID'S MEDIA ASSISTANCE

## STRENGTHENING INDEPENDENT RADIO IN INDONESIA

**Shanthi Kalathil**

USAID Office for Democracy and Governance  
Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance

**Krishna Kumar**

USAID Office of Development Evaluation and Information  
Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination

The findings and conclusions in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of USAID.

# Contents

Abbreviations ..... iv

Executive Summary ..... v

Strengthening Independent Radio in Indonesia ..... I

Overall Contribution of Assistance ..... II

Recommendations for Future Programs ..... 16

Annex 1. Other USAID Media Assistance. .... 18

Annex 2. Principal Contacts ..... 20

Bibliography ..... 22

# Abbreviations

AJI	Indonesian Journalists' Alliance
CSSP	Civil Society Support and Strengthening Program
FOIA	freedom of information act
IMLPC	Indonesian Media Law and Policy Center
IFES	International Foundation for Election Systems
ISAI	Institute for the Study of the Free Flow of Information
PRSSNI	Private Radio Station Owners Association
RRI	Radio Republik Indonesia
SEAPA	Southeast Asian Press Alliance
TAF	The Asia Foundation
WKU	Western Kentucky University

# Executive Summary

In the aftermath of the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998, USAID supported the development of independent media in Indonesia as a necessary ingredient in the consolidation of democracy. Designed to contribute to a more informed and politically aware citizenry by strengthening the independent media sector—radio in particular—USAID’s support was channeled through Internews, an international media NGO.

**USAID supported the development of independent media in Indonesia as a necessary ingredient in the consolidation of democracy.**

The democratic transition in Indonesia after the fall of the Suharto regime brought about important liberalization of the media sector. Focusing on radio as an effective medium for increasing citizen engagement with the political process and improving government accountability, USAID selected Internews to provide journalism training; management, sales, and marketing training; public affairs programming; institutional support, including provision of digital recording and editing equipment, internet access, and technical help; and building media law expertise and capacity.

USAID’s 2004 assessment of the nature and focus of the Internews program, its achievements and limitations, and its

overall contribution to the independent radio subsector concluded that USAID media assistance made a tangible difference to the Indonesian radio subsector. The assessment team found that the program improved and expanded news coverage and upgraded professional skills in the radio subsector. The USAID-funded Internews program also pioneered development of media law capacity and expertise. Moreover, by helping citizens engage the political process through interactive radio and emphasizing local news for local communities, the program contributed to consolidating Indonesia’s democratic gains and helped subvert the top-down information flow model that characterized the Suharto era.

Despite these positive developments, challenges lie ahead. Radio station owners can exert pressure on journalists to slant coverage—as can large conglomerates, the military, and other vested interests—and journalists’ low wages continue to make bribery an inescapable reality for many. Smaller stations still have limited access to newer equipment. And while physical violence against journalists has diminished, subtler forms of press control remain, including litigation and self-censorship. Overlooking such lingering and emerging issues could endanger the significant gains of the past six years.

## Recommendations for Future Programs

Key recommendations derived from the assessment include the following:

1. *Combine in-house and seminar-based training.* Training seminars for large numbers of participants were useful, but most participants derived maximum benefit from combining general principles with the targeted advice provided through an in-house consultancy, an approach that will more effectively strengthen the media sector than seminars.
2. *Address management and business skills early.* Management and business skills training should be provided early, especially when the media sector is dominated by family or personal ownership. In such situations, it is important to make explicit the connection between professional management, editorial independence, and financial sustainability so that owners feel they have a stake in achieving independent journalism.
3. *Build media law capacity from the beginning.* Building indigenous media law capacity should be stressed early on, recognizing that journalism training and other activities are highly influenced by the environment, and media law advocacy and expertise can affect the media environment by shaping regulations and enforcing rules.
4. *Recognize that radio is a low-cost means of facilitating interactivity and encouraging governmental transparency and accountability.* Radio has the potential to reach large numbers and can also be highly interactive—much more so than television or print. As demonstrated in Indonesia, interactive radio shows can bring citizen concerns directly to government officials in a moderated forum, perhaps even serving as conduits of local change.
5. *Intermediary implementing organization must be seen as legitimate and have a deep understanding of local conditions.* Internews is an internationally respected organization with a proven track record of supporting independent media. However, Indonesian media civil society organizations tended to perceive it as a well-funded U.S. organization that sought little local input. To combat such misperceptions, implementing partners should build bridges to local civil society organizations and stay abreast of local concerns to deepen their overall impact.



# Strengthening Independent Radio in Indonesia

In the aftermath of the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998, USAID supported the development of independent media in Indonesia as a necessary ingredient in the consolidation of democracy. USAID's largest media program in Indonesia was designed to contribute to a more informed and politically aware citizenry by strengthening the independent media sector, and the radio subsector in particular.

**USAID's largest media program in Indonesia was designed to contribute to a more informed and politically aware citizenry by strengthening the independent media sector, and the radio subsector in particular.**

Support for this goal was channeled through Internews, an international media NGO.

This assessment examines the nature and focus of the Internews program, its achievements and limitations, and its overall contribution to the independent radio subsector. More specifically, it seeks to answer the following questions:

- What was the nature of the assistance? What kinds of activities were undertaken under the auspices of the Internews program?
- What did the program achieve? What has been the overall contribution of assistance to strengthening independent radio stations?

- What factors and conditions affected performance?
- What major lessons can be derived from the Indonesian training experience?
- What effect has assistance to independent radio had on consolidation of democracy in Indonesia?

This report is based on several sources of information. The assessment team spent three weeks in Indonesia in early 2004, and individually or collectively interviewed over 30 USAID staff and partners, as well as other individuals familiar with the Indonesian media environment (see annex 1). Members of the team visited 10 radio stations in Jakarta, Medan, Yogyakarta, Solo, and just outside Denpasar, most of which had benefited from USAID assistance. The team also examined program documents and other USAID media assessments and studies.

## Democratic Transition and the Media

Indonesia, home to 210 million people, is a predominantly Muslim country. An archipelago that spans over 3,000 miles, Indonesia features an ethnically and linguistically diverse population. The brand of Islam practiced in Indonesia is relatively pluralistic, incorporating traditional Javanese beliefs.



For over three decades, Indonesia's government was an authoritarian regime. Under President Suharto's New Order, which lasted from 1966 to 1998, economic development took priority over building democratic institutions. Government critics were dealt with harshly, and freedom of expression was curtailed. Networks linking the state, military, and Suharto family cronies dominated political activity.

The media environment under Suharto was characterized by strict regulations, corruption, and the prevalence of self-censorship. To promote the idea of a cohesive nation, the government restricted coverage of issues relating

to ethnicity, religion, and race.<sup>1</sup> State-owned entities dominated the national broadcasting subsector. The government required publications to obtain licenses, and frequently used the licensing system to reward Suharto family cronies. Within the media sector, the relatively lively print subsector displayed the most willingness to challenge government control, while broadcasters typically avoided political controversy. The government relaxed media controls slightly in the early 1990s, but tightened them again when it banned three major

<sup>1</sup> Issues relating to ethnicity, religion, and race and the relationships between them are collectively referred to by the Indonesian acronym SARA (*Suku, Antara Ras dan Agama*).

publications in 1994 (Timberman 2003, Amnesty International 2003).

By the early 1990s, the regime's authority and legitimacy had eroded significantly. The rising middle class, Islamic groups, and dissident political leaders began demanding openness and transparency in the government. In 1998, Indonesia was rocked by a region-wide economic crisis that severely diminished the value of its currency. The resulting anger fueled massive popular protests. These protests, and the loss of elite and military support, led to the fall of Suharto's regime. Vice President B.J. Habibie succeeded him and presided over the country's initial steps toward democracy

by introducing a wide variety of political reforms, including massive decentralization and freeing the media sector from direct government control.

The government abolished official censorship, granted licenses to more than 1,500 new publications, and opened up the radio and television to independent news. It also eliminated government control over journalists' associations. With these changes, press outlets expanded vigorously into different areas of news production. Radio stations began producing their own news programs, an unprecedented development. More media outlets focused on incorporating public views by actively soliciting nonexpert, man-in-the-street commentary, or interactive programming.

In general, the highly diverse media sector has continued to flourish since then. Hundreds of new print and broadcast outlets have been established. The print subsector now features a wide-ranging mix of national and local publications, many established after 1998. Publications banned during the New Order, such as *Tempo*, have reopened. The television subsector has undergone significant changes, with private stations growing in size, audience, and influence. Internet usage has also increased substantially, although access is constricted by limited household ownership of personal computers. The parliament passed a new press law, significantly easing restrictions on the media. Press watchdog groups have been established, and overt physical intimidation of journalists has dropped.

Challenges remain, however. Low wages for journalists make payoffs tempting,

a practice known as “envelope journalism.” Physical violence against journalists has given way to more subtle forms of press control, including litigation. In 2003 and 2004, Indonesian journalists faced criminal charges (and for some, sentencing) resulting from stories they had written. Physical intimidation and violence continue to pose a danger to journalists in conflict-prone areas such as Aceh and Ambon. Also, some problems highlighted in an earlier 2001 mission media strategy continue to persist, albeit to a lesser degree: low professional standards, corruption, and inaccurate and biased reporting (Black and Timberman 2001).

Indonesia's former state-owned broadcasting entities are in the midst of a complex transformation into public service broadcasters, but are continuing to seek advertising while operating on government-allocated national frequencies. This poses potential negative ramifications for the development of a local advertising radio market. New broadcast legislation contains provisions that may limit freedom of expression.

Although civil society stakeholders were substantially involved in the process of drafting and passing the new broadcast bill, last-minute compromises during negotiations produced a controversial piece of legislation, one whose interpretation may either enhance the development of independent media or roll back new press freedoms.

## USAID Assistance to Independent Radio Stations

After the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998, USAID decided to support independent media as an essential component of the democratization process. The Agency commissioned a special study to conduct a broad review of the media sector and make recommendations for future programming. The study team spent two months in Indonesia interviewing media specialists, Indonesian and foreign experts, and media outlets in 11 cities on five islands. The assessment focused on television, radio, and the internet, paying particular attention to noncommercial broadcasters (Reen and Johnson 1998, 1). The 1998 study team recommended that USAID focus on supporting independent radio stations.

Indonesia has had a long tradition of small, privately owned and community-focused radio stations. Starting during the Dutch colonial period and continuing through the New Order, these stations focused on locally relevant cultural programming. During the Suharto era, the government banned nongovernmental radio stations from producing independent news reports, and required them to relay news reports from the state-owned news agency, RRI, several times a day.

After Suharto's fall in 1998, the industry grew over 30 percent in less than two years. By 2000, the country had 750 licensed commercial stations and a large number of unlicensed community stations, in addition to 52 state-owned RRI

stations and 146 stations operated by regional and local governments (Timberman 2003).

The 1998 study team gave many reasons for supporting radio. Radio offered a low-cost way to provide local, relevant news to communities, particularly those in remote areas underserved by print media and television. Radio was also an effective medium for increasing citizen engagement with the political process, which, in turn, would improve local and national government accountability. By enabling people to obtain information from local media outlets instead of centrally located (and frequently out of touch) state media, the assistance program would help reverse the Suharto-era top-down information flow system. Moreover, the study team found that local radio stations were receptive to the idea of outside assistance to improve their news reporting and coverage.

The study team found that Indonesia had very few radio journalists who had been trained to cover and report local news. Radio stations also lacked management expertise, particularly in sales and advertising. Most stations did not have modern recording and editing equipment. Local radio stations also did not have access to domestic and international news sources, nor could they communicate with other stations and media outlets. Like television and print media organizations, radio stations did not have access to media law experts to guide them in interpreting legislation and helping protect them from vested interests. Consequently, the study team suggested a comprehensive assistance program targeting local radio stations.

**Radio offered a low-cost way to provide local, relevant news to communities, particularly those in remote areas underserved by print media and television. Radio was also an effective medium for increasing citizen engagement with the political process.**

USAID accepted the team's recommendations and entered into a cooperative relationship with Internews, which had conducted the study. Initially, USAID granted Internews \$3.38 million in April 1999 to undertake a radio assistance program and promote media-based conflict resolution activities. This was followed by a \$3.79 million cooperative agreement covering Internews's activities from October 2000 to March 2003. Finally, USAID entered into another 20-month, \$1.74 million cooperative agreement in April 2003 for a project focusing on building elections-related media capacity. In sum, for the 1998–2004 period, Internews received about \$9.18 million from USAID (including funding for the initial study).

Internews initially identified 50 partner stations, two from each province, to receive major assistance. The stations were selected on the basis of their willingness to establish newsrooms, broadcast local news to local audiences, hire and develop news staff, and commit to developing sustainable funding streams. Over the course of the program, additional stations received assistance.

Internews undertook five interrelated activities: journalism training; management, sales, and marketing training; public affairs programming; institutional support, including provision of digital recording and editing equipment, inter-

net access, and technical help; and building media law expertise and capacity.

## Journalism Training

Prior to the fall of Suharto, radio stations could not produce their own news reports and were forced to rebroadcast news from state-owned broadcaster RRI. As a result, when the subsector opened up after 1998, radio stations were unprepared to produce independent news reports and relied mainly on poorly trained, staffed, and equipped news departments. In addition, the country lacked professional broadcast journalists.

In response, Internews gave priority to upgrading the professional capabilities of participating radio stations by providing many different forms of training. Training seminars provided basic and advanced training. Less experienced journalists received training in fundamental concepts, such as basic reporting and broadcasting skills and journalism theory. Senior journalists received advanced training focusing on professional skills, such as directing staff and managing resources, managing news teams, effective scheduling, and story selection. Though the concepts covered in the basic course were elementary, many radio journalists felt such training was essential. As one first-time trainee noted, "All this time, radio journalists were not



given enough attention—the attention focused more on print journalists. And yet radio is important.”<sup>2</sup>

In addition, presenters and hosts were trained in techniques of interactive radio programming, which encompassed such activities as quizzes and radio phone-in shows. In these seminars, participants learned to facilitate audience debate, maintain objectivity, handle divisive issues responsibly, and promote programs to increase audience participation. This specialized training stimulated more radio stations to try new types of programming. According to Internews, only 10–20 percent of radio stations broadcast live programs before undergoing training; this percentage increased to 60 percent after training (Sharpe, Reen, and Allen 2003a, 10).

Internews also conducted more specialized training programs, such as one specifically for conflict reporting. Called Reporting for Peace, the program was designed to explain the role of journalists in reducing tensions in conflict situations without compromising professional integrity. The training particularly stressed the importance of objective and unbiased reporting and the need to counter false rumors. Indonesian journalists from conflict regions, such as Aceh and East Timor, participated in the Reporting for Peace program. Internews also selected several radio journalists and managers to attend the USAID-funded International Journalism and Media Management Program at Western Kentucky University (WKU). There, the journalists focused on basic

radio broadcasting skills and discussed topics such as the role of journalists in a democracy. After the participants returned home, WKU trainers traveled to Indonesia to conduct followup training and in-house consultancies with participants. Internews has also provided specialized training in health and environmental journalism.

Internews also provided in-house consultancies to further tailor its journalism training to specific stations and environments. In-house training enabled Internews to ensure that the theory conveyed in training seminars was put into practice by individual radio stations. Such training also gave station managers, journalists, and other staff a chance to work through problems as a unit. Examples of the topics discussed included targeting news for specific audiences, protocols for news gathering, newsroom organization, structuring the newscast, and identification of audience-specific stories and angles.

The program also organized two seminars for training journalists to teach their colleagues, consult with media organizations, or teach courses on broadcast journalism. Seminars taught editors and journalists how to conduct their own training, whether in their own stations or through separate organizations. One unique feature of these seminars was new pedagogy: participants were encouraged to collect information from different sources and develop their own training material.

In addition to its training activities, Internews partnered with Indonesian organizations to provide training and professional development. For instance,

Internews cooperated with the Indonesian Journalists' Alliance (AJI)-Jakarta to hold elections-related training seminars for print and broadcast journalists in seven Indonesian cities. Internews also cooperated with the National Election Monitoring Radio Network to hold elections-related training seminars for radio journalists in five cities. Internews partnered with Yayasan SET to organize a series of film festivals featuring video documentaries about the 2004 elections.

Internews's Jakarta studio facilities provided radio production support for various Indonesian and international civil society organizations and their media activities. This included support for radio shows such as *Radio Jurnal Perempuan*, a national women's radio program. However, cooperation with local organizations remained limited.

Between April 2003 and November 2004, Internews focused primarily on training related to Indonesia's 2004 parliamentary and presidential elections. These elections represented a significant step in Indonesia's transition to democracy. Because pressure on media outlets generally increases during such politically sensitive periods, training stressed the importance of maintaining independence and impartiality, as well as creative ways for journalists to engage listeners on election topics. Partner radio stations learned how to convey useful information to listeners during elections, while maintaining fair and balanced coverage.

In interviews with the assessment team, participants—from radio station news directors to junior journalists—expressed satisfaction with the training courses and noted they had taught them

2 Interview with radio journalist in Medan, Sumatra, Feb. 19, 2004.

valuable skills. One participant noted that training in handling sensitive issues regarding race and ethnicity was useful, as was training in how to resist pressure from political parties as the country prepared for the historic 2004 elections.

This specialized training instilled professional norms and prepared radio professionals for potential conflicts in sensitive environments such as post-transition Indonesia. One partner station in a tension-prone region of Java implemented a live talk show before receiving specific training in balancing competing views or dealing with on-air conflicts and inflammatory remarks. The radio station aired a provocative talk show that featured only one side of a religious debate, and was subsequently attacked and vandalized by angry listeners. Although the matter was swiftly resolved, the radio station to this day shies away from airing politically sensitive news or interactive shows. Station employees said they had benefited from the basic, advanced, and in-house training provided by Internews, but they needed more specialized training in programming live shows in an environment with inflamed ethnic and religious tensions.<sup>3</sup>

Generally, radio journalists who participated in a variety of training courses compared Internews favorably to other training implementers. Many felt the Internews sessions were better organized and more responsive to local needs. Participants said they benefited from the international perspective provided by ex-BBC reporters-turned-Internews trainers. The in-house consultancies proved

**Specialized training instilled professional norms and prepared radio professionals for potential conflicts that may arise in sensitive environments.**

tangibly useful to most participants in their day-to-day operations. Radio hosts and presenters used techniques learned in training to improve stations' ability to produce balanced and lively call-in shows.

However, the journalism training programs also encountered difficulties. At times, expatriate trainers who were insufficiently familiar with the Indonesian media environment were unable to provide specific advice. One participant noted, "There was a gap between participants from different parts of Indonesia and the expatriate trainer."<sup>4</sup> This situation changed as Internews decreased its reliance on expatriate trainers and built a cadre of Indonesian trainers.

There were also problems with the participant selection process. Training seminars sometimes failed to recruit suitable participants. At times, sales and marketing staff attended seminars designed for journalists. In addition, some nonjournalists with connections to radio station owners attended training seminars. Inappropriate participants diluted the overall value of radio subsector training.

There was some duplication of training efforts. Although Internews was the first organization to provide systematic, professional radio journalism training, other international and local organizations—

such as UNESCO, Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Institute for the Study of the Free Flow of Information (ISAI), and Radio 68H—began conducting similar courses after 1998. Lack of coordination and communication between Internews and other organizations led to unnecessary duplication and wasted resources. Limited enrollment meant that many deserving candidates were unable to attend any training seminars.

Internews encountered some difficulties in cooperating with local media organizations for purposes of training. Many Indonesian civil society media organizations felt that Internews received the bulk of USAID funding and alienated potential local partners with its aggressive approach. Internews did receive the bulk of USAID media funding, but other local civil society organizations did not possess the administrative capacity to successfully manage a large USAID grant. While Internews did implement several programs with local media-related civil society organizations, its general lack of integration with such organizations hampered effectiveness. Better communication with them might have reduced duplication of efforts. Eventually, Internews became aware that miscommunication and other difficulties had contributed to a negative perception within the civil society organization community and took steps to improve relations. Its experience underscores the importance of building links to the local

3 Interview with staff of PTPN Solo, Solo, Java. Feb. 28, 2004.

4 Interview with staff of Smart FM, Jakarta, Java. Feb. 24, 2004.

civil society organization community, even if working with these groups is not an explicit part of an implementer's mandate.<sup>5</sup>

There is no hard data on the utilization of skills and techniques taught in journalism training seminars and in-house training. Interviews with partner radio stations indicate that most journalists were able to use some of the skills and knowledge they had acquired, but management orientation, station format, and ownership political susceptibilities affected the nature and extent of utilization. One obvious factor was management orientation at individual radio stations. Some stations were more willing than others to provide resources and editorial freedom to their journalists. Some stations changed focus from news to entertainment, a development over which Internews had no control, which nonetheless detracted from the value of radio news training. Further, many owners of radio stations in Indonesia are susceptible to political influences, which can take precedence over the norms of professional journalism.

## Management and Sales and Marketing Training

**L**ike other small business enterprises, radio stations in Indonesia tend to be owned by

individuals and families. Consequently, most are unprofessionally managed and may have a hard time succeeding as profitable ventures. During the Suharto regime, these stations received the bulk of their advertising revenues from national advertising. These revenues declined substantially after liberalization. Because financially self-sufficient media outlets are typically better able to achieve editorial independence, a key part of USAID's radio assistance program focused on improving efficiency, reducing costs, and strengthening revenue streams.

Internews organized management seminars in which trainers encouraged managers to develop clear organizational structures with efficient separation of responsibilities. In sales and marketing seminars, trainers emphasized the need to build sales teams and work in concert with station management and program staff. Trainers also offered creative ideas for seeking sponsors for news programs.

Internews also provided in-house marketing and sales training and management consultancies to selected stations. These in-house seminars, modeled on business consulting practices, were designed to help management think through problems and devise original solutions. During the second phase of the program (2000–03), 105 participants from partner radio stations attended management and sales and marketing seminars (Sharpe, Reen, and Allen 2003a, 67).

Many radio station managers and business staff interviewed attested to the value of training that highlighted the importance of maintaining divisions between news and advertising staff.

Although some participants felt management and marketing training was not sufficiently tailored to individual skill levels, particularly for the more experienced participants in the WKU program, the majority of those interviewed indicated the overall training had been useful.

Empirical data provided by Internews backs up these assertions. Before training, only 10 of 50 partner stations had efficient organizational structures that established clear lines of authority and separated individual responsibilities and duties. By 2003, 40 did. Initially only 15 stations had a general manager, program director, and sales manager with clearly defined roles and responsibilities. By the end of 2003, all radio stations had established these positions. Audience research was previously limited to nine stations. By 2003, 20 stations were conducting audience research, and another 15 planned to do so as soon as their financial conditions permitted (Sharpe, Reen, and Allen 2003a, 9).

Many participants interviewed by the assessment team found sales and marketing seminars particularly useful because they provided new ideas and approaches. Stations have started seeking sponsors for their news programs. Moreover, many stations have established sales teams. As a result of the training, most general managers have a better understanding of sales, marketing, and promotion techniques. Most partner stations now have a more balanced income stream, with 50 percent coming from national advertising and 50 percent from local advertisers and sponsors. Some radio stations reported increased revenues, which they attributed to their participa-

<sup>5</sup> Internews felt that the 2003 creation of the Media Coalition, which included only local NGOs, established an obstacle to clear communication and the sharing of plans and activities and served to distance Internews at a time when it hoped to work more closely with local NGOs. For their part, many local NGOs said they did not seek to explicitly exclude Internews, though their negative impressions of Internews's Indonesian operations precluded them from proactively seeking a more cooperative relationship.

tion in training seminars (Sharpe, Reen, and Allen 2003a, 10).

Not all improvement can be attributed to training provided by Internews. Other factors included the growth of business education and increased contacts with the outside world, enabling small business owners—and radio station owners as a subset of this group—to acquire a better understanding of modern management practices and marketing. Indonesia's economy has also been steadily improving since 1998, increasing opportunities for radio stations to obtain sponsors.

Management training can help correct unhealthy business practices but cannot change ownership patterns. As with journalism training, management training effectiveness is shaped by larger trends in the media sector—in this case, the pattern of family-based radio ownership that dominates the radio industry.

## Public Affairs Programming

Internews also contributed to the development of radio journalism by producing public affairs news features that ran on partner stations throughout Indonesia. Beginning in October 2000, Internews produced and distributed three weekly news features from its radio production unit in Jakarta to 100 radio stations in 25 provinces, a number that grew to 155 stations. The programs were distributed on compact discs via courier to all partner stations. Stations signed a memorandum of understanding agreeing to play the programs unedited at a scheduled time each week.

The features focused on health and environmental issues and current affairs, and were made available free of charge to Internews' partner radio stations. Topics included HIV/AIDS, the Earth Summit, and regional political issues. In 2004, current affairs programs focused primarily on the 2004 elections.

Internews encouraged partner stations to model their own investigative reports on the weekly features and use them to jumpstart local discussion of the segment topic. Internews also sponsored individually tailored, two-week internships at its Jakarta production facilities for reporters from regional radio stations to learn about long-format programs.

The weekly features served as positive examples of professionally produced, investigative radio features, and generally proved popular with stations. Internews estimated the weekly nationwide audience at about 50 million. The features were some of the best investigative radio news reporting available to Indonesian listeners, and the programs contributed to greater accountability of the Indonesian government and other institutions. However, the programs did not inspire local stations to produce similar, in-depth radio news features. Because Internews provided the programs at no cost, partner stations had little incentive to pursue such programming on their own. Many also lacked the news capacity or financial resources to do so.

Some stations ran the programs but found that their roving national focus did not provide the local news that listeners wanted. While Internews intended the programs to have the potential to become lead-ins for local programming

such as talk shows and call-ins, few stations interviewed took advantage of this opportunity. Finally, there appeared to be no plan to sustain the weekly feature program once the donor funding stream ran out.

## Institutional Support

Institutional support to the 50 partner stations generally took the form of limited provision of equipment, internet access, and technical training. Before receiving Internews assistance, most partner stations (especially those outside Java) had limited technical and information technology capacities. They lacked digital recording and editing equipment, essential software, and access to the internet. To address this, Internews provided the stations with Marantz and Minidisc recorders, computers, and Cool Edit Pro digital editing software. During the first phase of the program ending in 2000, Internews distributed 49 digital sound editing suite computer systems, 55 Marantz field recorders, 50 internet connectivity packages and 15 computers, and studio equipment and setup for Radio Jurnal Perempuan.

Technical training residencies helped stations address issues such as equipment maintenance and troubleshooting, internet use, and incorporation of digital technology. Internews also provided a phone hotline and internet support for radio technicians and users of the digital editing software. The hotline proved extremely useful in the beginning. Initially it received 5–10 queries a day, but queries declined as stations became familiar with the equipment.



Institutional support in the form of equipment and training improved partner stations' production quality and saved them time and resources. For example, prior to this support, most partner stations transferred their news programs from the newsroom to the studio for broadcast via cassette. Following support, most news production became fully automated, improving sound quality.

Internews also provided internet connectivity grants to stations that covered the cost of internet access for limited time. The underlying expectation was that once the stations started using the internet, they would see it as a powerful tool to access information and improve news and business operations. This assumption appeared justified: all 50 stations continued their internet subscriptions after the grant ended.

Overall, institutional support gave stations a needed jumpstart on equipment modernization. Interviews and site visits by the assessment team indicated that the stations greatly benefited from the computers, software, internet access, digital recording and editing equipment, and related support. Nearly all stations visited during the assessment were still using equipment provided by Internews.

## Media Law Assistance

Initially, Internews established a media law department to promote legal and regulatory reforms and offer legal advice to partner stations. In 2002, this department grew into an indigenous media NGO, the Indonesian Media Law and Policy Center (IMLPC). In-

ternews, and later the IMLPC, assisted broadcast media outlets, helped shape broadcasting media legislation, consulted with media NGOs, lobbied the Indonesian parliament, and undertook educational activities.

From its inception, Internews's media law department provided ad hoc legal support to radio stations and other media organizations. Internews, and later the IMLPC, organized media law clinics in 17 cities that discussed legal issues and problems facing the broadcast media. Internews also ran an online question-and-answer service for media organizations seeking answers to specific legal questions. Such assistance proved quite useful because Indonesia's media law and regulatory regime was in a state of transition. Particularly between 1999 and 2002, when radio stations were unclear about their rights and responsibilities, Internews provided helpful information tailored to each station's particular problem. Many radio stations—particularly those outside Jakarta that had little or no access to the capital's legal resources—attested to the importance of practical and often crucial advice received from the Internews media law division and, subsequently, the IMLPC.

Internews also recruited international legal experts to advise the Indonesian parliament on media law issues, and brought officials and members of the public together to provide feedback on draft legislation. During the process of drafting, negotiating, and passing the new broadcast bill, the IMLPC (under Internews) provided parliamentarians with information and policy advice. Between March and

May 2001, the IMLPC took members of parliament involved with the bill on a road show to six major regional cities, where the IMLPC organized public meetings and seminars for them and organized call-in discussions on partner radio stations. As a result, the public became better informed about the proposed bill and could express their concerns directly to lawmakers.

Along with several other media NGOs, the IMLPC under Internews established a command post to provide ongoing and after-hours support for reformist members of parliament in their debates on the bill, which passed in 2003. Unfortunately, parliamentary reformists were forced to make concessions in the face of government opposition to key sections of the bill. The final outcome thus left many stakeholders and media advocacy groups unhappy, particularly those concerned that the bill could be interpreted to constrict press freedoms. Another key group of stakeholders, the Private Radio Station Owners Association (PRSSNI), felt the bill was unfriendly to the radio industry and appealed to the Constitutional Court to determine the bill's constitutionality.

Internews and the IMLPC also lobbied for an Indonesian freedom of information act (FOIA). Although Article 28 of the Indonesian Constitution guarantees the people's access to information, in practice the government maintains centralized control of public information. The FOIA Coalition, a group of local NGOs in which the IMLPC is active, has been actively pushing for a FOIA based on models from other countries. The coalition sponsored a trip by three key parliamentarians to

study FOIA legislation in Sweden and Thailand. Internews also brought an expert from the Moscow Media Law and Policy Centre to conduct public seminars and sponsored road shows on proposed related legislation.

Under Internews, the IMLPC also launched a series of six weekly programs on Radio MS-TRI in partnership with the Indonesian Press Association, as well as a weekly television show on TVRI. In addition, the IMLPC published and distributed four books on media law issues and issued a newsletter.

The assessment team found that Internews's media law activities made a substantial contribution to the development of an enabling environment for independent media in Indonesia. Sustained advocacy by Internews and the IMLPC helped create a more level playing field for media organizations and enabled civil society input on key pieces of media legislation. Road shows and feedback mechanisms educated citizens about the importance of media regulation and its impact on daily life. All media organizations interviewed by the assessment team expressed appreciation for the media law assistance provided by Internews and the IMLPC. One station in Jakarta noted that the IMLPC director even acted as a pro bono, unofficial ombudsman for the station on several occasions.<sup>6</sup>

The assessment team also found that tensions between some Internews and IMLPC staff accelerated the spinoff timeline for the IMLPC and contributed

to negative perceptions of Internews among Indonesian media NGOs. Many local NGOs felt that Internews was more interested in exercising its control than nurturing an independent, indigenous media law center.

The present management of both Internews and the IMLPC are aware of the problem and have taken steps to resolve the issue. Since the IMLPC is now an independent and important voice on the Indonesian media scene, the net result of the spinoff can be said to be positive.

---

<sup>6</sup> Interview with staff of Smart FM, Jakarta, Java, Feb. 24, 2004.

# Overall Contribution of Assistance

Determining the overall contribution of the radio assistance program to the growth of radio subsector is extremely difficult. Indonesia is large and diverse, and Internews’s assistance reached only a small proportion of commercial stations: core partners were initially less than 7 percent (50 out of roughly 750) of the country’s radio stations.

There is a broad consensus among media owners, journalists, and other experts interviewed that the Internews media assistance program upgraded professional expertise in the radio sector.

Moreover, many other factors have affected the media sector, including globalization, democratization, economic growth, and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. The effects of media assistance programs cannot be totally separated from these factors. Above all, there is no hard data from which to draw reliable conclusions. The following are based on the observations of the assessment team.

## Upgraded Professional Skills and Expertise

There is a broad consensus among media owners, journalists, and other experts interviewed by the assessment team that the

Internews media assistance program upgraded professional expertise in the radio subsector. The program trained radio professionals in different fields—journalism, management, sales and advertising, information technology, and even equipment maintenance. Table 1 shows the total number of participants in the courses and in-house training programs. The number of individuals participating is probably smaller than the total shown because the same individuals often attended more than one training activity. Even so, the number of radio employees who received training in different fields is significant. All participants interviewed by the assessment team attested to the value of the training in upgrading their skills.

Internews’s contributions to the entire radio subsector, while comparatively indirect, were nonetheless significant. For example, Internews training for its partner stations made nonpartner stations aware of the need to improve

Table 1. Radio Professionals in Internews Training Programs, 1998–2004	
Year	Participants
1998–99	923
2001	473
2002	507
2003	370
2004	638
Total	2,042
Source: Internews.	

skills and capacities. Some nonpartner stations sought Internews's assistance for this purpose; in a few cases, they lured (or tried to lure) trained partner station staff. Some Internews-trained professionals did go on to consult independently with radio stations, contributing further to the diffusion of new skills and expertise. Essentially, the Internews program contributed to the growth of a small cadre of radio professionals who started diffusing new skills and practices throughout the subsector.

Internews also helped diffuse—if not institutionalize—two important innovations in media training in Indonesia. First, the program emphasized hands-on skills that could be put to immediate use. Prior to Internews's involvement, media education in Indonesia tended to be highly theoretical and university-based, rather than focused on continuing professional education and real media environments. Second, Internews emphasized the link between financial self-sufficiency and editorial independence, providing not just journalism training, but business-focused training in sales, advertising, and fiscal management. Some respondents indicated that the program caused media organizations and educational institutions to start paying attention to both practical training and financial sustainability issues.

Nevertheless, Internews's overall contribution to upgrading professional skills in the radio subsector was limited. The major limiting factor was Internews's decision to undertake most training activities itself, rather than partnering with and nurturing an existing local media training organization. Some critics argue that Internews would have left a

more lasting, productive legacy if it had worked in collaboration with an indigenous media organization. The resulting strengthened media organization might also have independently attracted local and international funding. Another limiting factor was the emphasis on relatively short-term training for large numbers of people. This meant that many people received basic training but a much smaller number received the sustained, intensive training that frequently provides the most long-term benefits.

### Expanded and Improved News Coverage

The majority of Internews program resources were devoted to the primary program objective of expanding news coverage by partner radio stations. The underlying assumption was that stations benefiting from much needed equipment, machinery, and technical assistance would be able to expand and improve their news operations. Existing data vindicates this premise: most partner radio stations expanded their news programs as a result of Internews's assistance.

Prior to participation in the program, only 10 percent (5 of 50) of the stations issued news bulletins at regular intervals. The remaining stations did not cover the news or covered it sporadically. By the end of 2003, all Internews partner stations had established news departments and relayed news at regular intervals (Sharpe, Reen, and Allen 2003a, 9). This rapid expansion of news coverage cannot be attributed solely to the Internews program. Internews selected only partner stations that showed some

interest in developing or expanding news coverage. All the data on expanded news coverage comes directly from Internews, although the assessment team independently collected anecdotal evidence that appeared to verify Internews's claims. Moreover, as the momentum for democratization grew, so did the momentum for greater news coverage. Nevertheless, Internews's contribution should not be minimized: its emphasis on news coverage clearly provided a catalyst for change in the subsector.

As a result of the Internews assistance program, many partner stations also now conduct live interactive programs, where listeners call in to talk shows or panel discussions on national and local issues. Although live talk shows did not originate with Internews, its emphasis on community participation, listener involvement, and non-elite-focused news programming, combined with practical training in interactive programming, enabled partner stations to implement these programs. Internews's assistance also made radio journalists and talk show hosts aware of professional norms and practices, while encouraging them to think creatively about ways to engage listeners.

### Pioneered Development of Media Law Capacity

By incubating the IMLPC, Internews essentially pioneered the development of media law capacity in Indonesia. Before the creation of the Internews media law division, there was virtually no media law expertise in the country. Internews's sustained advocacy helped create a

**Before the creation of the Internews media law division, there was virtually no media law expertise in Indonesia.**

more level playing field for media organizations. Its efforts also enabled civil society to provide input on key media legislation. Now independent from Internews, the IMLPC has provided much needed legal resources for media outlets and organizations, and has emerged as an effective, indigenous voice on the Indonesian media scene. Developments that augur well for the future of the IMLPC include the following:

- As the IMLPC developed into a full-fledged media NGO, it started meeting the needs of key stakeholders. The IMLPC cooperated with many local media organizations and provided research support and advice on media issues to key members of parliament. Regulatory bodies—such as the national and regional Indonesia Broadcasting Commission—consult the IMLPC on media law issues. During Indonesia's 2004 elections, the IMLPC was strongly involved in the USAID-funded Media Coalition elections-related information and educational campaigns. Above all, the IMLPC continues to advise numerous media outlets on individual legal problems. As a result of its multifaceted activities, the IMLPC has been able to establish a strong constituency of local media NGOs and individual media outlets.
- The IMLPC responds to a growing need for media law services. As

Indonesian media regulation develops and grows in complexity, the demand for media law experts will increase. Media lawyers will be required to frame, revise, and interpret both new and existing laws and regulations. Above all, as the media environment in Indonesia transitions from overt press intimidation to the more subtle threat of litigation, individual media outlets will increasingly require legal assistance to explain their rights and responsibilities, represent them before regulatory bodies, and protect them from frivolous lawsuits. Because the IMLPC is the only organization specializing in media law, the demand for its services is likely to grow.

However, the IMLPC must still overcome hurdles. While it did absorb some fundraising and administrative skills during its incubation period with Internews, it will need to broaden its expertise if it is to play a larger role. Until this happens, staff size will remain limited, as will the IMLPC's overall capacity. Moreover, available Indonesian expertise in media law is now largely limited to the IMLPC's staff; it may be a while before the country accumulates enough indigenous expertise for the center to expand significantly.

Internews continued to work on media regulation issues after the establishment of the IMLPC. In 2004, Internews provided an international media regulations expert to advise the KPI as it

drafted regulations on radio and television licensing, ownership, and content. In partnership with the IMLPC and the members of the PRSSNI, Internews also worked with three regional broadcast regulatory bodies to organize public seminars to discuss new regulatory issues with their national counterparts, the local media, and the general public.

## **Aided Democratization**

Internews's media assistance program also made a positive, though limited, contribution to consolidating Indonesia's democratic gains. It did so primarily by helping citizens engage in the political process through interactive radio. By encouraging development of news-oriented radio programming—particularly current affairs call-in shows and other interactive features—Internews helped increase citizen interaction with local government. Many radio stations now invite local government officials to participate in talk show programs, enabling ordinary citizens to question them about matters ranging from municipal issues to election matters.

Occasionally, such shows serve as catalysts for policy change. One station manager in Medan explained that a public controversy over high parking fees prompted the station to host a call-in show with the local parking official and a member of parliament. After many callers expressed dissatisfaction with the fees during a lively on-air discussion, the official parking policy was changed and fees were lowered. While causality is difficult to determine, the show certainly provided a direct channel between citizens and officials and may have stimulated



official thinking on the subject. Such results, when viewed in the context of Indonesia's political history, are striking. In a culture conditioned to avoid sensitive topics for fear of disrupting stability, interactive call-in shows foster animated debate and inculcate democratic values of transparency and accountability.

Public affairs radio programs produced by Internews also contributed to the development of a democratic political culture in Indonesia. Programs have covered public health and environmental issues and current affairs from an investigative perspective, going beyond official pronouncements and digging for facts and opinions that many other radio news programs will not address. While they have not widely inspired similar investigative reports at stations throughout Indonesia, the effect of the nationally distributed programs on listeners may be to encourage critical thinking about issues such as public health policy or elections procedures. This type of critical thinking is an important ingredient of pluralistic politics.

Finally, many Internews-trained radio outlets followed through on commitments to fair and in-depth reporting during the 2004 elections. Elections-related training enabled radio stations to devise anticipatory logistical blueprints that proved helpful in light of ballot complexity and elections-related minutiae. Station managers also implemented election coverage techniques suggested during training, including assigning teams of reporters to specific election beats and keeping abreast of media regulations regarding the elections. Reporters, news directors, and managers generally anticipated many election cov-

**USAID endeavored to give Internews maximum freedom to adjust program activities in light of changing conditions in the media sector.**

erage issues and did their best to prepare for them in advance.

## Conclusions

Several factors contributed to the program outcome. One was that the Internews program was based on a systematic assessment that addressed the diverse needs of existing radio stations. Consequently, the program developed a comprehensive package for assisting partner radio stations. Interlocking program activities produced synergy, journalism training improved editorial quality, and sales and advertising seminars helped stations become financially solvent and remain editorially independent. In addition, the provision of computers and recording and editing equipment supported program activities.

Internews provided training in locations to suit the convenience of participating stations. Indonesia's many islands often have cultures that differ sharply from that of Java and the capital city, Jakarta. Rather than flying participants to Java for centralized training, Internews chose a locally based seminar model that enabled trainers to address specific concerns in, for instance, Sumatra, Sulawesi, or Papua. Follow-up in-house consultancies for selected radio stations facilitated utilization of knowledge and

helped individual radio stations solve specific problems.

Proper timing also contributed strongly to the success of the program. Launching its program when the country was undergoing major political and economic changes after the fall of the Suharto regime, Internews was able to take advantage of an upsurge in demand for news and information at national and local levels. The economy's gradual rebound from the Asian economic crisis buoyed advertising sales and helped boost revenues for independent radio stations. This, in turn, helped expand and improve news operations.

USAID's role included funding the program generously. The program rarely—if ever—faced a serious shortage of resources. Indeed, many local NGOs indicated that the program suffered from a funding surfeit. USAID endeavored to give Internews maximum freedom to adjust program activities in light of changing conditions in the media sector. Moreover, USAID also supported many other local media initiatives (described in annex 2) that enhanced or indirectly benefited the main Internews media assistance program.

The assessment concluded that USAID media assistance made a tangible difference to the Indonesian radio subsector. By training journalists, developing management expertise, honing special-

ized reporting skills, supporting better media regulations, and generally advancing the cause of press freedom, the program improved news coverage and professionalism in the radio subsector. Moreover, consistent emphasis on local news relevant to individual communities helped subvert the top-down information flow model that characterized the Suharto era.

But these positive developments cloak the challenges that lie ahead. For instance, with many radio stations still owned and managed as family businesses, owners can exert pressure on journalists to slant coverage. Large conglomerates, the military, and other vested interests can exert pressure on the overall tone of news coverage through ownership of media outlets. Although local media organizations are educating journalists about the negative ramifications of bribe taking, low wages continue to make it an inescapable reality for many. Smaller stations still have limited access to newer equipment, such as state-of-the-art recording devices. As noted earlier, physical violence against journalists has given way to more subtle forms of press control, including litigation.<sup>7</sup> Finally, though the media environment is considerably freer than it was before 1998, at times it reflects a culture of self-censorship, particularly with

respect to ethnicity, religion, and race issues. As international attention focuses elsewhere, there is a risk of overlooking these lingering and emerging issues and endangering the significant gains of the past six years.

---

7 For instance, in September 2004, *Tempo* chief editor Bambang Harymurti was found guilty of libel and sentenced to one year in prison. The original charges stemmed from a *Tempo* article that alleged Indonesian businessman Tomy Winata could have profited from a fire at his textile market. Winata subsequently filed numerous charges against the magazine. The sentencing of Harymurti elicited protests from international press freedom organizations, which noted that Indonesia's criminal libel laws are outdated.

# Recommendations for Future Programs

## **1. Combine in-house and seminar-based training.**

The Indonesian experience shows that in-house training, combined with seminar-based training, is the most effective approach. Training seminars for large numbers of participants were certainly more useful than no training at all. However, most participants derived maximum benefit from combining general principles with the targeted

**Stations that participated in in-house training showed a more sophisticated awareness of basic journalism norms and newsroom management and personnel issues.**

advice provided through an in-house consultancy. The in-house consultancy approach works particularly well when stations are confronting deep-rooted structural issues that cannot be addressed through general seminar training. Stations that participated in in-house training showed a more sophisticated awareness of basic journalism norms and newsroom management and personnel issues. Ultimately, the comparatively deep-rooted understanding acquired from the in-house approach will more effectively strengthen the media sector than seminar-based training alone.

## **2. Address management and business skills early.**

Management and business skills training should be provided early, especially

when the media sector is dominated by family or personal ownership. When owners treat stations as family businesses, with opaque management and decisionmaking structures, this can hurt the development of independent journalism. For instance, an owner who does not appreciate the value of separating the marketing and news divisions risks compromising editorial independence. Radio stations seen as editorially untrustworthy will have trouble selling ads. In family ownership situations, it is important early on to make explicit the connection between professional management, editorial independence, and financial sustainability so that owners feel they have a stake in achieving independent journalism.

## **3. Build media law capacity from the beginning.**

Building indigenous media law capacity should be stressed early on, in conjunction with journalism training and other early activities, recognizing that such training and activities are highly influenced by the environment. Media law advocacy and expertise can affect the media environment by shaping regulations and enforcing rules. In Indonesia, the initial phase of assistance did not focus on building up a cadre of local media law experts. Thus, IMLPC resources were severely taxed because of the lim



ited staff qualified to deal with the many demands placed on the organization. Of course, developing media law expertise is a long-term activity, and it is unrealistic to expect a crop of professional media lawyers to emerge within a year or two of transition. However, media assistance donors should recognize the need and begin laying foundations to avoid confronting the resource issue at a future critical juncture.

#### **4. Recognize that radio is a low-cost means of facilitating interactivity and encouraging governmental transparency and accountability.**

Many believe interactivity is inherent to newer media, such as the internet or cell phone text messaging. In countries with low levels of internet access or literacy, however, a technology-heavy approach may not be effective. Radio, which has the potential to reach large numbers, can be highly interactive, much more so than television or print media. In conjunction with standard news programming, interactive programming such as call-in shows can drive home the point that news issues are of direct relevance to listeners' lives. Moreover, as demonstrated in Indonesia, interactive radio shows can bring citizen concerns directly to government officials in a moderated forum, perhaps even serving as conduits of local change.

#### **5. Intermediary implementing organizations must be seen as legitimate and have a deep understanding of local conditions.**

Intermediary implementing organizations must have legitimacy and a deep understanding of local conditions. Internews is an internationally respected organization with a proven track record of supporting independent media. However, Indonesian media civil society organizations tended to perceive Internews as a U.S. organization that receives large amounts of funding but accomplishes relatively little and seeks little local input. While this assessment was not accurate, Internews exacerbated the problem by not immediately seeking to understand and address the way its actions were perceived. Ultimately, both Internews and the developing local media civil society organization community lost out on numerous opportunities to combine efforts and leverage impact. Hence, even if fostering civil society organization linkages is not part of their official mandate, implementing partners should build bridges to local civil society organizations and stay abreast of local concerns. Such links will enhance the legitimacy of the implementing partners and deepen their overall impact on the media sector. Linkages to international media implementing organizations will also help build the capacity and sustainability of domestic training providers.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> This was a priority in an earlier mission media strategy (Black and Timberman 2001).

# Annex I. Other USAID Media Assistance

In addition to funding Internews activities, USAID made a positive contribution to Indonesia's media sector in several ways. USAID funds helped jumpstart Radio 68H, now Indonesia's premiere radio news network. USAID funds were also channeled to domestic civil society organizations and, most recently, the broad alliance of civil society organizations known as the Media Coalition. This assistance has boosted civil society organizations' advocacy capacity as follows:

- *Institute for the Study of the Free Flow of Information (ISAI)* is one of the few media civil society organizations to have received USAID funding even before the fall of Suharto. ISAI, which was founded in 1994 after the banning of *Tempo* magazine, is a media sector civil society organization that advocates greater media freedom and conducts media monitoring and training programs. It is closely affiliated with Radio 68H (see below). ISAI received a three-and-a-half-year, \$1.2 million grant from USAID in May 1999.
- *Yayasan SET* is a civil society organization headed by an Indonesian filmmaker. It has received USAID grants totaling \$677,000 for activities such as creation of elections-related public service announcements and training for state television channel TVRI officials in creating public service programming. Through Yayasan SET, USAID also funded the creation of the Media Coalition to work on elections-related media issues in 2004.
- *The Media Coalition*, composed of Indonesia's major media-related civil society organizations, teamed with television stations to produce its own talk show on election-related issues and facilitated communication and partnership between organizations with complementary media monitoring programs. It has also been a strong voice in advocating certain interpretations of the broadcasting law. As of April 2004, it had received \$948,000 from USAID.
- *Radio News Agency 68H* has been a pioneer in the Indonesian radio sub-sector. Galvanized by an outpouring of regional news following Suharto's resignation, it started in 1999 as part of ISAI, with a small studio and limited staff. It rapidly expanded to become a nationwide news service that provides feeds to over 400 radio stations. This gathering of regional news for integration into a national broadcast represented the reverse of news broadcasting during the Suharto era, when all news was broadcast in top-down fashion via RRI from Jakarta. The reversal demonstrated to radio stations the value of inverting top-down structures to encourage community-focused news.

Initially, Radio 68H relied on the internet to allow partner stations to get their news packages to the head office in Jakarta. Radio 68H has since switched to a satellite-based system, so partner stations can more easily uplink and provide professional-quality news reports to the main network. Radio 68H has also expanded to produce its own call-in shows, and was the first station in Indonesia to use a toll-free call-in feature. The station also produces news feature shows, employs correspondents in other countries, and features a regional Asian call-in show. It provides journalism training to partner and other stations around the country. Essentially, Radio 68H has provided Indonesian radio stations with an indigenous, replicable model and demonstrated that new technologies—such as satellite and the internet—combined with creative thinking about news gathering and distribution can leverage the impact of a low-tech medium like radio.

Radio 68H is becoming a self-sustaining private-sector radio network and has substantially decreased its reliance on funding from international donors. It was initially supported by a subgrant from USAID implementing partner The Asia Foundation (TAF), which contributed operating costs, salaries for reporters, and money for training reporters. The station also received early support from the Dutch government and the Media Development Loan Fund.

- *The Southeast Asian Press Alliance (SEAPA)* was formed in Bangkok in 1998 by journalist associations from

Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand. Patterned after the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists, SEAPA conducts advocacy work on behalf of press freedom and monitors threats against journalists. USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives supported the establishment of SEAPA's Indonesia office, and the Agency granted SEAPA a follow-on grant of \$75,000 to support its monitoring and advocacy work.

- *Other initiatives* include USAID-funded media-sector activities through TAF, as well as projects such as the Civil Society Support and Strengthening Program (CSSP), a partnership between Chemonics, the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), and CARE International. CSSP has funded Indonesia-wide civil society organization media efforts to use local radio stations for civic education campaigns in Lampung, Solo, Manado, and Samarinda (Valentino 2001). Prior to 1998, TAF funds supported a journalism training institute and a daily newspaper in East Timor. More recently, TAF supported a coalition of media sector civil society organizations that advocate an Indonesian FOIA. CSSP and TAF also supported AJI, which campaigns against "envelope journalism" and supports training in investigative reporting (Timberman 2003).

TAF also funds the production of *Religion and Tolerance*, the most heard radio talk show in Indonesia. The show, which draws around 5 million listeners, is part of Jaringan Islam Liberal (Liberal Islam Network), a TAF-supported civil society orga-

nization that facilitates advocacy of democracy-related issues by moderate Muslim groups. The show is syndicated, and its transcripts appear in the *Jawa Pos*. The show explores topics such as mixed marriages, the role of Islam in encouraging good governance, and how modern challenges can be understood through the prism of Islam. Although it is not now a commercial enterprise, *Religion and Tolerance* is slowly moving toward a revenue-sharing model that will encourage financial sustainability.

USAID supported IFES in the areas of election reform, legislative strengthening, and civic education. Through these efforts, IFES produced television talk shows and live broadcasts of parliamentary sessions on the SWARA cable television channel (Timberman 2003). In addition, USAID/Indonesia also made a number of small, usually equipment-related grants to radio stations and other media groups around the country. USAID/Indonesia's Office of Conflict Prevention and Response also supported media monitoring and training for journalists in conflict areas, as well as a soap opera produced by Search for Common Ground that focuses on peace and reconciliation.

## Annex 2. Principal Contacts

Dimardi Abas  
*Kiss FM PT. Radio Kidungindah  
Selarassuara (Medan)*

Ulil Abshar-Abdalla  
*Jaringan Islam Liberal*

J. Anto  
*Kippas*

Bivie Arifin  
*Smart FM (Jakarta)*

M. Wasim Bilal

C. Boedhioko  
*PTPN Rasitania FM (Solo)*

M. Kabul Budiono  
*Radio Republik Indonesia (Jakarta)*

Robin Bush  
*The Asia Foundation*

Diwangkoro  
*89.0 FM Radio Pasopati (Medan)*

Ganjar Djamhir and other members  
*Pengurus Daerah Persatuan Radio Siaran  
Swasta Nasional Indonesia (PRSSNI)*

Sasa Djuarsa S.  
*Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia*

Firqie Firmansyah  
*Friedrich Naumann Stiftung*

H. Zulkifli Ibrahim  
*Radio ARH (Jakarta)*

Iskandar  
*Radio Prapanca Buana Suara (Medan)*

Eddy Koko  
*PT, Radio Trijaya Shakti  
Gita W. Laksimini  
Koalisi untuk Kebebasan Informasi*

Lukas Luwarso  
*Southeast Asian Press Alliance (Jakarta )*

Nong Darol Mahmada  
*Jaringan Islam Liberal*

Abdul Manan  
*Alliance of Independent Journalists Indonesia*

Pieter Manopo  
*PT Radio Suara Dirgantara (Medan)*

Lies Marcoes-Natsir  
*The Asia Foundation*

Masduki  
*Unisi FM (Yogyakarta)*

Victor Menayang  
*Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia*

Ir. Lucky Ali Moerfiqin  
*Jaringan Delta FeMale Indonesia*

Farid Mubarak  
*Radio News Agency 68H*

Lensi Mursida  
*Alliance of Independent Journalists Indonesia*

Bimo Nugroho S.  
**KOMISI PENYIARAN INDONESIA**

Andi Odang  
*Smart FM (Jakarta)*

Hinca I.P. Pandjaitan  
*Indonesia Media Law and Policy Centre*

Nezar Patria  
*Alliance of Independent Journalists Indonesia*

Radio station staff  
*Jadwal Siaran Rasida (Yogyakarta)*

Sapto Raharjo  
*Geronimo FM (Yogyakarta)*

Douglas Ramage  
*The Asia Foundation*

Kathleen Reen  
*Internews Indonesia*

Santoso  
*Radio News Agency 68H*

Wayne Sharpe  
*Internews Indonesia*

Ashadi Siregar  
*Yogya Institute of Research, Education, and Publications*

Agus Sudibyo  
*Institut Studi Arus Informasi (Institute for the Studies on Free Flow of Information)*

Eddy Suprpto  
*Alliance of Independent Journalists Indonesia*

Eddy Purnama Suryawibawa  
*Pemerintah Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*

Ezki Suyanto  
*Lembaga Studi Pers and Pembangunan (Institute for Press and Development Studies)*

Hank Valentino  
*International Foundation for Election Systems*

Mita P. Witjaksono  
*Internews Indonesia*

Dewa Gede Jana Yudi  
*Radio Suara Kini Jani (Bali)*

Daniel Ziv  
*USAID/Indonesia Office of Conflict Prevention and Response*

# Bibliography

- Amnesty International. 2003. "Indonesia: Press Freedom Under Threat." <<http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGASA210442003?open&cof=ENG-IDN>>
- The Asia Foundation. 2003. *Democracy in Indonesia: A Survey of the Indonesian Electorate in 2003*. Jakarta: The Asia Foundation. <[http://www.asiafoundation.org/pdf/democracy\\_in\\_indonesia.pdf](http://www.asiafoundation.org/pdf/democracy_in_indonesia.pdf)>
- Black, David, and David Timberman. 2001. "A Mission-Wide Strategy for Enhancing the Role of the Media as a Key Actor in Indonesia's Transition." Unpublished paper. Washington, D.C.: USAID.
- Du Toit, Peter. 2000. *Reporting for Peace, Books 1 and 2*. Jakarta: Internews Network.
- Macdonnell, Roderick, and Lars Moller. 2001. "Is A Free Press Enough? An Analytic Approach to Promoting Effective Investigative Journalism in East Asia: A Report on the Watchdog Role of the Press in Curbing Corruption in Thailand and Indonesia (Draft)." Washington, D.C.: World Bank. <<http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/offrep/eap/eapprem/govpaperrod.pdf>>
- Ottenhoff, Robert G. 2000. "A Report on the Transition of TVRI." Unpublished report. Washington, D.C.: International Foundation for Election Systems.
- Reen, Kathleen, and Eric Johnson. 1998. *Indonesian Broadcast Media in the Post-Suharto Period*. Jakarta: Internews Network. PN-ACE-464.
- Sharpe, Wayne, Kathleen Reen, and Don Allen. 2003a. "Final Project Report: Strengthening Broadcast Media in Indonesia, October 1st, 2000–May 31st, 2003." Unpublished report. Jakarta: Internews Network.
- Sharpe, Wayne, Kathleen Reen, and Don Allen. 2003b. "An Informed Choice: Building Media Professionalism for the 2004 Elections in Indonesia." Quarterly Reports 1–3. Jakarta: Internews Network.
- Sharpe, Wayne, Kathleen Reen, and Don Allen. 2004. "An Informed Choice: Building Media Professionalism for the 2004 Elections in Indonesia. Performance Monitoring Report." Unpublished report. Jakarta: Internews Network.
- Timberman, David. 2003. "Promoting Independent, Sustainable Media in Developing Countries: Critical Issues and Lessons. The Case of Indonesia." Unpublished draft. Washington, D.C.: USAID.
- Valentino, Henry. 2001. *Assessment of Media Projects in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan TIFA.

## U.S. Agency for International Development

The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) is an independent federal agency that receives overall foreign policy guidance from the Secretary of State. For more than 40 years, USAID has been the principal U.S. agency to extend assistance to countries recovering from disaster, trying to escape poverty, and engaging in democratic reforms.

USAID supports long-term and equitable economic growth and advances U.S. foreign policy objectives by supporting

- economic growth, agriculture, and trade
- global health
- democracy, conflict prevention, and humanitarian assistance

The Agency's strength is its field offices located in four regions of the world:

- Sub-Saharan Africa
- Asia and the Near East
- Latin America and the Caribbean
- Europe and Eurasia

**U.S. Agency for International Development**

1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW

Washington, DC 20523

Telephone: 202-712-4810

**[www.usaid.gov](http://www.usaid.gov)**